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Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 002007

NODIS
CHEROKEE - ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT AMMAN 0107 ACTION STATE DEC 5.

QUOTE S E C R E T AMMAN 0107

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON FROM PICKERING

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PGOV, JO, EG, IS, XF
SUBJECT: DECLARATION OF PRINICPLES

REF: STATE 307272 (REPEATED TEL AVIV 11023)

1. AS WE DISCUSSED IN TEHRAN, I HAVE TAKEN A BRIEF LOOK AT THE AUGUST DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR AGREEMENT WITH THE IDEA IN MIND OF SEEING WHAT COULD BE DONE FROM THE JORDANIAN PERSPECTIVE TO MAKE THEM USEFUL FOR THE JERUSALEM TALKS. REFTEL IS THE ONLY INDICATION OF THE WORK WHICH YOU HAVE DONE UP UNTIL THE PRESENT

SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 002007

WHICH I HAVE HERE. I HAVE ALSO TAKEN A LOOK AT THE JORDANIAN COMMENTS GIVEN US ON THE PRINCIPLES AND THE JOINT U.S.-SOVIET STATEMENT.

2. ASIDE FROM SIMPLE DRAFTING CHANGES WHICH ARE NOT RELEVANT SUBSTANTIVELY, I HAVE FOCUSSED IN THE MAIN ON PARAGRAPH 4, THE FIRST SENTENCE OF WHICH COVERS

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL. I HAVE ALSO MADE
SOME SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA-
GRAPH 5 WHICH COVERS THE ISSUE OF SELF-DETERMINATION
IN THE LIGHT OF THE JORDANIAN COMMENTS THEREON.

3. ON THE WITHDRAWAL QUESTION, THE KEY SENTENCE (THE
FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 4) MIGHT BE REDRAFTED AS
FOLLOWS TO ENSURE JORDANIAN SUPPORT: "THE WITHDRAWAL
CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAEL FROM
ALL TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967 TO
MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS."
A VARIANT WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY BE SUITABLE, WHICH WOULD
GO FURTHER TOWARD MEETING ISRAELI OBJECTIVES, BASED ON
REFTEL, WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS: "THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED
FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAELI ARMED FORCES
FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967,
ON ALL FRONTS, TO MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND
RECOGNIZED BORDERS." THE PLACEMENT OF THE PHRASE
"ON ALL FRONTS" COULD JUST AS EASILY COME AFTER THE
WORD "BORDER" AS IN THE PRESENT DRAFT.

4. ON THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION, THE FINAL
SENTENCE IS CRUCIAL. THE JORDANIANS HAVE SUGGESTED
THE IDEA OF NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION. THE
FINAL SENTENCE MIGHT THEN BE REWORDED AS FOLLOWS:
"MEANS SHOULD (WILL) BE SOUGHT TO PERMIT UNDER
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SECRET

IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, SELF-DETERMINATION
BY THE PALESTINIANS TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE."

5. THE JORDANIANS HAVE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF
JERUSALEM. IN THE CONTEXT OF TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWALS,
IF THIS QUESTION CAN BE AGREED UPON, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL
TO ADD A PHRASE,"IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WITHDRAWALS
CALLED FOR IN RESOLUTION 242, THE UNIFIED AND UNDIVIDED
CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM WILL BE MAINTAINED, WITH FREEDOM
OF ACCESS AND WORSHIP TO ALL HOLY PLACES." THIS MIGHT
BE LEFT, AS PHRASED ABOVE, AS A SIXTH PARAGRAPH.

6. IN ORDER TO GIVE YOU THE REST OF OUR IDEAS IN
COMPLETE FORM WITH ALL SUGGESTIONS, THE DRAFT IS
REPRODUCED BELOW. ITEMS IN DOUBLE PARENTHESIS BELOW
ARE ITEMS WHICH WE WOULD SUGGEST FOR DELETION MAINLY
TO TIGHTEN UP THE DRAFTING. ITEMS WHICH ARE IN
SINGLE PARENTHESIS ARE SUGGESTED ADDITIONS. IN
SUBSTANTIVE TERMS, WE THINK IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO
ADD TO PARAGRAPH 3 A PHRASE FROM THE JOINT U.S.-
SOVIET DECLARATION REGARDING PEACEFUL RELATIONS:
". . . ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION ON THE PRINCIPLES

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION, AND
POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE." FINALLY, IN PARAGRAPH 5, WE THINK
YOU SHOULD CONSIDER THE USE OF THE WORD PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND"
IN LIEU OF OR TOGETHER WITH THE WORD "OR ENTITY," SINCE
WE HAVE USED BOTH INTERCHANGEABLY.

7. FINALLY, JORDANIAN COMMENTS ON THE PRINCIPLES
IN AUGUST ALSO INDICATED A DESIRE TO ACCORD THE RIGHT
OF RETURN OR COMPENSATION TO PALESTINIAN REFUGEES--
THEY SAID "REPATRIATION AND COMPENSATION." THIS MAY BE
AN OVERLY DIFFICULT, AND AT THIS POINT, EXTRANEOUS
ISSUE. GIVEN THE RATHER COMPLETE NATURE OF THE
PRINCIPLES AS THEY NOW STAND HOWEVER, WE MIGHT WANT
TO CONSIDER THE ADDITION OF ANOTHER PARAGRAPH AS
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FOLLOWS: "PALESTINIAN REFUGEES SHOULD BE ACCORDED
THE RIGHT OF RETURN OR COMPENSATION, THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF WHICH WILL BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION."

8. BEGIN REVISED TEXT:
DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. THE GOAL OF NEGOTIATIONS IS A COMPREHENSIVE
PEACE SETTLEMENT EMBODIED IN PEACE TREATIES.

2. THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS IS SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

3. ((IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT)) THE PEACE CALLED FOR
IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL CONSIST NOT ONLY OF A TERMINATION
OF THE STATE OF WAR, BUT ALSO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF NORMAL PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS
ARAB NEIGHBORS (ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION
OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY,
AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE).

4. ((IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT)) THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED
FOR IN RESOLUTION 242 WILL BE BY ISRAEL FROM ALL TERRITORIES
OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967 -- OR BY ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM
TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE CONFLICT OF 1967, ON ALL FRONTS, --
TO MUTUALLY-AGREED, SECURE, AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS ((ON ALL
FRONTS)). THE WITHDRAWAL AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS
CAN BE PHASED OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS IN PARALLEL AND
SYNCHRONIZED STAGES. THE SECURITY OF THE STAGES AND
OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL BE ENHANCED BY (AGREED)
SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ((AS AGREED BY THE PARTIES)).

5. ((A)) (THE) SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE PROVISIONS
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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

FOR A PALESTINIAN ((ENTITY)) (HOMELAND) AND FOR MEANS
OF ASSURING PALESTINIAN ADHERENCE TO THE TERMS OF
A PEACE TREATY. THE PALESTINIAN ((ENTITY)) (HOMELAND)
WILL NOT BE MILITARIZED, AND THERE WILL BE PROVISION
FOR AN OPEN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH
((ISRAEL)) (ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS). MEANS SHOULD BE
SOUGHT TO PERMIT (UNDER IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONALSUPERVISION,) SELF-
DETERMINATION BY THE PALESTINIANS
((IN DECIDING ON THEIR FUTURE STATUS)) (TO DECIDE ON
THEIR FUTURE).

6. (IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WITHDRAWAL CALLED FOR
IN RESOLUTION 242, THE UNIFIED AND UNDIVIDED CHARACTER
OF JERUSALEM WILL BE MAINTAINED, WITH FREEDOM OF
ACCESS AND WORSHIP TO ALL HOLY PLACES.)
END REVISED TEXT. PICKERING UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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20 Mar 2014
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